

# Schoolboys and the Security Police

# WHO BELIEVES IN FREEDOM?

No. 1,250 London, June 10, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

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I have never been a:

(please tick)

... badge-wearer ... non-conformist

... slogan-yeller ... CNDer

... wall-painter ... Beatnik

**BRITISH** security police are alleged to have asked a London headmaster questions about the political beliefs of his pupils. Will Griffiths, MP, asked the Minister of Education in the House of Commons last week about this practice. For all the Minister's unsatisfactory answers, this will no doubt be quoted as another example of the famous British concern for individual freedom.

In fact, the incident proves just the opposite. It shows how irrelevant this concern for freedom now is.

In Britain the orthodox liberal takes the position that, given the cold war, the security police are necessary. Our main concern, they argue, should be to see that their activities are not excessive and are confined to vital areas, like defence and scientific research.

In the abstract this sounds fine—until you notice how much the system within which the security police operate loads the dice in their favour. The security police are part of the war system. The basis of that system is, finally, the willingness to massacre millions of people. If this is so can we complain if the security people do make mistakes? What if, say, ten thousand people are wrongfully suspected of being security risks and penalised for it? What does it matter if it helps to prevent a war? Ten thousand people against the whole of human life—isn't that a worthwhile price to pay?

DROP US A LINE if you suspect your headmaster is a security risk. His report on you MUST come under separate cover.

## Eating the cake

Notoriously, the liberal wants to have his cake and eat it. He thinks the war system necessary but also wants individual freedom. He protests against security excesses. Those poor schoolboys, they might well become normal sensible citizens by the time they are thirty, even if they are members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at present:

"Unfortunately there is no means of knowing whether our investigators realise that it is a thoroughly good thing for a

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... badge-wearer	... non-conformist
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... wall-painter	Beatnik
... poster-marcher	libertarian
Angry Young Man	unilateralist
... liberal	boycotter
... radical	conscientious
anarchist	objector
pacifist	unconscientious
Trotskyite	objector
I shall never march anywhere except in the forces	
I shall always follow the crowd—except when it's going to Trafalgar Square	
The Government knows best	

SIGNATURE .....

ADDRESS .....

SCHOOL .....

### Post it to S.P.Y.

### Statesmanlike Precautions for Youth, Whitehall, S.W.1.

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SPY staffman  
Cell number  
Gallows/wall  
Chair/gas  
Charge (framed/straight)  
Approx. date

thousand people are wrongfully suspected of being security risks and penalised for it? What does it matter if it helps to prevent a war? Ten thousand people against the whole of human life—isn't that a worthwhile price to pay?

## Eating the cake

Notoriously, the liberal wants to have his cake and eat it. He thinks the war system necessary but also wants individual freedom. He protests against security excesses. Those poor schoolboys, they might well become normal sensible citizens by the time they are thirty, even if they are members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at present:

"Unfortunately there is no means of knowing whether our investigators realise that it is a thoroughly good thing for a man to have worked his way through Communism, Pacifism, Anglo-Catholicism, and perhaps one or two other ideologies by his early twenties." (Guardian, June 4, 1960.)

These protests are like Canute's efforts to turn back the tide. The logic of the system is a one way logic. The attempt to keep the security police inside the limits of the old belief in individual freedom is a futile one in the war society.

The only meaningful question is should we have the security police or shouldn't we?

## Paying the price

And this leads back to the oldest question of all, if we want the war society are we prepared to pay the price for it? Either you believe in individual freedom and are prepared to dismantle the war system to get it, or you believe in the war system and are prepared to dismantle individual freedom to keep it.

For those of us who are perfectly happy to dismantle the war system there is one problem. How can we contribute to the abolition of the security police?

In this case there seem to be good arguments for turning the principle of non-co-operation on its head. Why not co-operate with the security police? Don't let them spend time and effort collecting dossiers on you, do it for them! Send them a letter (addressed to the Under Secretary of State, Home Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.1) telling them exactly what "subversive" organisations you belong to.

This is not a frivolous suggestion. In our society one of the best methods of keeping order is by creating an atmosphere of fear. If you do this, that, or the other, you will be put in jail. If you belong to this or that organisation you will never get the job you want. Once you show you are not afraid of these threats, one of society's strongest weapons becomes obsolete (a weapon that has proved itself a good deal more efficient than Blue Streak). You will have proved yourself a genuine subversive.

**JOHANNESBURG CABLE**  
from Basil Delaine  
page eight

**POLITICS FOR INNOCENTS**  
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the H-bomb debate  
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## Unions line up on Bomb

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**THE Executive of the giant Transport and General Workers' Union last Friday reaffirmed its support for unilateral nuclear disarmament.**

Secretary Frank Cousins summed up his Executive's line as a belief that defence policy should not be based on British ownership of nuclear weapons or the threat of their use by Britain or from British territory. The Executive, which agreed on this unanimously, will submit motions to this effect at the annual Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference.

Mr. Cousins will probably appear at these conferences as the leader of the unilateralist unions—which so far have about 2,500,000 votes in the Labour Party.

## Scoreboard

These unions are the TGWU (over 1,000,000; the Amalgamated Engineering Union (673,000); the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (331,000); the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers (80,000); the Boilermakers (61,000); and a few smaller unions.

The leading unions to reject unilateralism are the National Union of General and Municipal Workers (650,000), the Union of Post Office Workers (157,000), the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers (123,000), and the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association (74,000). Together they have over 1,000,000 votes.

The annual conferences of the mineworkers and railwaymen will be held early next month, and together they have about 900,000 votes.

**CLASSIFIED**

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**MEETINGS**

"THE SUMMIT, DISARMAMENT AND ALL THAT." Speaker, Eric Tucker. Sunday, June 12, 6.30 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. Everybody welcome.

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DUPLICATING, shorthand, typing, translations: Mabel Eyles, 10 Beaconsfield Rd., London, N.11. ENT 3324.

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**SITUATIONS VACANT**

# Mau Mau: Remove its causes —prevent its return

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I HAD intended to review the report on the Origins of Mau Mau prepared for the Kenya Government and published by the British Government as a White Paper. But I am in Tunisia, and the report has not yet reached me.

I was in Kenya before Mau Mau, at the beginning of Mau Mau, and during Mau Mau. Perhaps my views may be of some interest as a supplement to the official report.

First, a personal word. Indications have been given that the report makes reference to me and two of my Labour colleagues. I suspect these will be Leslie Hale, with whom I went to Kenya in 1952, and John Stonehouse, who gave evidence at the Kenyatta trial on behalf of Achienget Onyekor, subsequently acquitted. (Despite this, he was kept in detention for seven years.)

It is possible, however, that the third MP is John Dugdale, who aroused unpopularity in Kenya when Minister of State by refusing to attend a reception in neighbouring Tanganyika because Africans were excluded.

There have been rumours that the original draft of the report advised that I (and perhaps my colleagues) should be prohibited from entering Kenya permanently. If so, I suppose we must have been roundly condemned! It has also been rumoured that discussion about the advisability of these references caused the report to be held up for a month.

I am now assured that such references as appear in the present text are entirely factual. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to tell the story of my three journeys to Kenya.

The first visit was in 1950. I met Jomo Kenyatta and the other African leaders. Together we prepared a plan of campaign for political and constitutional advance. A petition on the land question was to be launched to present to the British Parliament. (Later I presented it with 67,000 signatures.)

**Kenyatta's request**

At the request of Kenyatta and his colleagues I asked the Governor to remove the ban on the Kilimani Central African Association.

Government side also excesses occurred, culminating in the beating to death of eleven Africans at Hola.

Leslie Hale and I arrived in Kenya as Mau Mau was beginning. I think I should give the terms of an appeal which we issued to Africans, and which was distributed in the Swahili language by the Kenya African Union to thousands of their members and supporters.

**'Hate only hate'**

Leslie Hale wrote the appeal. I took pride in being associated with him in such a fine piece of writing:

"Cruelty and violence are wicked things. Beware of those who preach a doctrine of hate or a doctrine of violence, whether in political, social or religious affairs. Those who in any circumstances advocate a resort to violence, even in circumstances of extreme provocation, are at this moment the real enemies of the African people, not only in Kenya but all over this great continent. We accept the Christian ethic of goodwill towards all. So do many of you. But we appeal to you in the common belief in the humanitarian ethic for tolerance and understanding. Fear only fear. Hate only hate."

Leslie and I offered to broadcast to Africans urging them not to join Mau Mau and not to turn to violence. This offer was not accepted.

We also endeavoured to bring the leaders of the different races together. We called a round-table conference, attended by representatives in the Legislature of the European, Asian, Arab and African populations, and agreement was reached on a programme of reforms. Alas, renewed violence that night caused the European leaders to withdraw their support next morning.

I don't believe that anybody who was in Nairobi during those critical days would deny that Leslie and I exerted every effort

Within the traditional clan system every African felt he had a part. The clan was an integrated community. Every African felt a family loyalty, beginning with the family farm. Every African felt an age-group loyalty. All through life the boy or girl of the same year of birth remained closer than a brother or sister.

I don't say this was an ideal society or a progressive society, but it was a society which meant something to everyone who belonged to it.

In the Kenya of the fifties to many Africans society meant nothing. Locally, the White District Officer was boss, and generally he made one feel it. Whites took the best farm lands. Whites built strange towns, where the African felt lost. The Whites established a Parliament to make laws, and no African felt it was his because no African had a vote. The African had become an alien in the social environment of his own land.

The second frustration was economic. The Africans were herded in reserves. Some of the tribal reserves were so crowded that the Africans could not live. The Kikuyu, for example, were crowded 400 to 1,000 a square mile, an impossible figure for a primitive agricultural economy. Over one-fourth of the men were driven from the land to become cheap labour on the European farms or in European homes or factories in the towns.

The third frustration was psychological. More than once I have told how in 1950 I went to Nairobi in the company of the United Nations representative in East Africa, a doctor of philosophy from New York, and of the first secretary of the Indian Commissioner in East Africa, an honours' degree man from Oxford. The first was a Negro, the second an Indian.

**Insult to dignity**

When we sought a meal together in Nairobi we were turned away from every

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**LONDON, W.11:** Portobello or Golborne Rd. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two hours shifts are needed. Apply to Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

#### SUNDAYS

**LONDON, N.W.3:** Morning, Whistone Ponds. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone ENS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

#### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist Centre. MFN.

#### WEDNESDAYS

**LONDON:** 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### THURSDAYS

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

## DIARY

#### Friday, June 10

**LONDON, S.W.11:** 7.30 p.m. The Town Hall, Battersea. Dance; tickets 3s. 6d., dble. 6s., from IVS, 72 Oakley Square, N.W.1.

**BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m. Lillian Dunning's, 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze. "The PPU and the Sixties." Isa Preuss, Will Parkin, PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 5.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd.; 1st meeting Study Group Three "Education for Peace." CND London Region.

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd.; 1st meeting Study Group Four "Non-violent Resistance." CND London Region.

**LONDON, W.8:** 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. Local tribunal for COs. Public admitted. CBCO.

#### Saturday, June 11

**LEICESTER:** 81, Clarendon Park Rd., 5 p.m. Tea. 6.30 p.m. "Norman House." Miss E. Cullingworth, Loughborough & Burton PPU Groups Visiting.

as appear in the present text are entirely factual. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to tell the story of my three journeys to Kenya.

The first visit was in 1950. I met Jomo Kenyatta and the other African leaders. Together we prepared a plan of campaign for political and constitutional advance. A petition on the land question was to be launched to present to the British Parliament. (Later I presented it with 67,000 signatures.)

## Kenyatta's request

At the request of Kenyatta and his colleagues I asked the Governor to remove the ban on the Kikuyu Central Association on the understanding that it would press politically for elected African representation in the Legislature. There was not a hint of resorting to violence.

Our approach to Kenya's problems was illustrated in a remarkable garden party to which 100 leaders from each of Kenya's communities—European, Asian and African—were invited. Uninvited 30,000 Africans (*The Times* estimate) turned up!

To this unique gathering I made an appeal for inter-racial equality and co-operation. Many people in Kenya regarded this meeting as opening the gateway to inter-racial justice and friendship.

When, after this hopeful experience, Mau Mau violence broke out, I was bitterly distressed and disillusioned. I was horrified particularly by the inhuman murders of children, including African children. These were appalling years.

But let us not forget that on the Gov-

Leslie and I offered to broadcast to Africans urging them not to join Mau Mau and not to turn to violence. This offer was not accepted.

We also endeavoured to bring the leaders of the different races together. We called a round-table conference, attended by representatives in the Legislature of the European, Asian, Arab and African populations, and agreement was reached on a programme of reforms. Alas, renewed violence that night caused the European leaders to withdraw their support next morning.

I don't believe that anybody who was in Nairobi during those critical days would deny that Leslie and I exerted every effort to reduce violence and to create racial co-operation.

My last visit to Kenya was in 1954 en route from Madagascar. I addressed a large and influential gathering called by the leaders of the Asian community, urging that the violence of the Mau Mau years should be put aside and that all races should co-operate in constructive advance and human equality.

So much for the personal aspect. Of far greater importance is an understanding of the causes of Mau Mau.

My study of Kenya problems led to the conclusion that the outbreak of Mau Mau violence arose from three deep frustrations, social, economic and psychological.

The social frustration reflected the fact that the colonial administration had largely destroyed the old pattern of African society and had not replaced it by a society in which the African felt he had any place or which appealed to his natural loyalties.

#### Sunday, June 12

**LONDON, N.1:** 3.30 p.m. 5, Caledonian Rd. "The Orphans of the Atom Bomb." Francoise Parage, Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

#### Monday, June 13

**LONDON, W.2:** 8 p.m. 16 Westbourne Park Rd. (Porchester Rd. end). Group meeting. Porchester PPU.

#### Tuesday, June 14

**LONDON, N.1:** 8 p.m. Falters Hall Baptist Church, Baxter Rd., Essex Rd. Speakers: Roy Shaw, Michael Scott. Islington CND.

**LONDON, N.W.3:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. Harry Segal: The Politics of Mass Murder. Hampstead CND.

#### Wednesday, June 15

**EXETER:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Magdalene St. Hugh Brock "Unilateral Disarmament—What we can do about it." CND.

**LONDON, N.9:** 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower St. John Barclay, International Help for Children. PPU.

**CAMBRIDGE, Mass., USA:** 8.15 p.m. First Congregational Church, 11 Garden St. "The Struggle for Peace—Urgent Next Steps." The Rt Hon. Philip Noel-Baker, MP, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. H. Stuart Hughes, Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn, AFSC.

#### Thursday, June 16

**LONDON, N.6:** 8 p.m. Archway Central Hall. Speakers: Mrs. Diana Collins, Nigel Calder. Islington CND.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. "A Geographer Looks at Pacifism." Reg. Morris. Leytonstone PPU.

#### BRISTOL, 1:

2 p.m. Municipal Charities Office, Orchard St., Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

**TORQUAY:** 7.30 p.m. Methodist Hall, Union St. Hugh Brock "Unilateral Disarmament—What we can do about it." PPU, FoR, SoF, CND.

#### Saturday, June 18

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 10 a.m.-6.30 p.m. Caxton Hall (nr. St. James Park Stn.) Conference on Total Disarmament. J. Allen Skinner, Stuart Morris, Leslie Tarlton. Admission 2s. SJPC.

#### Monday, June 20

**BIRMINGHAM:** 14: 8 p.m. 221, Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Monthly meeting (changed date). All welcome. PPU.

#### Saturday, June 25

**WARLEY:** 2.30 p.m. Institutional Church, Pound Rd. Annual Area Garden Party. West Midlands Area PPU.

one-fourth of the men were driven from the land to become cheap labour on the European farms or in European homes or factories in the towns.

The third frustration was psychological. More than once I have told how in 1950 I went to Nairobi in the company of the United Nations representative in East Africa, a doctor of philosophy from New York, and of the first secretary of the Indian Commissioner in East Africa, an honours' degree man from Oxford. The first was a Negro, the second an Indian.

## Insult to dignity

When we sought a meal together in Nairobi we were turned away from every hotel or restaurant. No coloured person was permitted to eat or drink with Whites.

This treatment of Africans as third-class human beings in their own land creates the most deeply-felt frustration of all. It is an insult to the dignity of man which must make any self-respecting person "see red."

Theoretically, and in some cases actually, the colour bar has gone from Nairobi's hotels and restaurants. The tragedy is that Mau Mau alone stunned Europeans out of their smug superiority and complacency.

Those are the reasons for Mau Mau. How are we to avoid its recurrence? By deliberately deciding to remove all traces of the causes of these three frustrations.

First, Kenya must grow as primarily an African society in recognition of its 6,000,000 Africans, compared with 60,000 Europeans and 200,000 Asians and Arabs.

Second, the economy, agricultural and industrial, must be built around African well-being in African projects rather than in European domination and exploitation. African co-operative agriculture and African co-operative light industries offer the greatest hope.

Third, all racial discrimination and segregation must go. If any European in Kenya cannot feel human equality, he had better go home. He is a menace in Africa.

Whatever the Kenya report says, I welcome its publication. There are enough convincing Africans, enough informed Europeans, to make the truth known.

It is futile now to build on old prejudices. People know too much. The wind of change is not in Africa alone. It is in the minds of the people of Britain.

Yet I acknowledge I shall be interested to read the Kenya report when I return home this week!

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# Fall-out poison in water and milk

**Commons hears of considerable increases**

A VERY empty House of Commons spent 29 minutes debating Strontium 90 in the early hours of Wednesday morning last week.

The matter was raised on the adjournment by Mr. John Morris, who set out recent facts and asked for assurances. In 1954, he said, the ratio of Strontium 90 to calcium in milk was 0.5. "Today the average throughout the United Kingdom is 9.6." The highest average for any area was 14.89 in West Cornwall, with 14.39 for Wales. Within such areas there were "tremendous local variations" and Cumberland had 23 units.

Drinking water, Mr. Morris continued, was also contaminated. Many large cities

had substantially increased units, especially those that drew their water from the Welsh hills.

In the bones of young children the average amount in 1956 was .55 units. "Now the average child in the United Kingdom has 2.7 units." The maximum recorded was 6.9 units. "It is known that Strontium 90 is ten times more effective in giving young children cancer than in the case of adults."

The second report of the Agricultural Research Council on the amount of Strontium 90 in milk and other foods stated: "It appears that the 12-month mean of contamination of milk for England, Wales and Scotland increased by 40 per cent between December, 1958, and June, 1959." Later the level decreased.

The report also stated: "It may therefore be assumed that no further increases in the level of Strontium 90 in milk are to be expected if weapon trials are not resumed and the rate of fall-out consequently continues to decrease."

Replying for the Government, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health (Miss Edith Pitt) said the debate gave "an opportunity to dispel any idea that milk, whether it comes from Wales or any other part of Britain, is dangerous." The experts were "emphatic that the present levels of Strontium 90 in milk are no cause for alarm or concern."

She could not state the amount of money spent on research because it "is done in many spheres."

• The Medical Research Council will shortly produce a White Paper on the spread of the hazard of Strontium 90 and its possible effects.

## SYMBOL OF WHITE RULE:

By Sybil Morrison

# '... THINGS HOPED FOR'

"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."—Hebrews XI: 1.

BECAUSE of the Whitsuntide holiday I must write this article a whole week before publication; it is impossible to be topical and so I am thinking about the Whitsun holiday. Perhaps only a few either know, or care, that it is a religious festival; that the Christian Church remembers it as the day on which the apostles came together to wait for the coming of the inspiration that had been promised.

As they waited together silently and wonderingly in the upper room of a house where some of them lived, it must have seemed to them as though the whole thing had been imagined. Here was an ordinary room in an ordinary house, and a number of ordinary men and women waiting for something to happen which had not been explained nor described.

Jesus had told them to assemble together on that day, the day of Pentecost, when Jews, 50 days after Passover, rejoice at the ripening of the seed with its promise of harvest, and in due course they would learn how they should witness to their faith.

In simple faith and in immense expectation they waited: and "suddenly there came a sound of a rushing mighty wind and it filled all the house where they were sitting." More wonderful still, these simple Galileans found themselves able to speak in the tongues of many other tribes, and multitudes gathered to speak with them.



It is not for me to propound the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, but it is, perhaps, for pacifists, whether they be Christian or Jew, atheist or agnostic, to think occasionally about faith and about expectation. Hope is a simple and necessary ingredient of life and of faith; without it life would be barren and faith itself become sterile, but a hope for the future, based on faith, is not the same as a judgment of the future based

Poisoning milk, water, food . . . The level of Strontium 90 should decrease IF the tests are not restarted

## All the difference in the world

### THE WICKED ENEMY

THE Soviet Union today displayed some of its rocket weapons and atomic cannon in the May Day parade across Red Square. . . . Russians packing the square broke into applause as the first of the rocket-carrying vehicles came roaring into view.—Reuter report from Moscow, May 1.

Men and missiles paraded down Fifth Avenue Saturday in a burnished display of military strength celebrating Armed Forces Day. More than 14,000 men and women

## WAR RESISTANCE

IN my previous appeal I wrote about tax resistance and the need of giving sufficient money for the work of pacifism. Since then I have been at a meeting of the International Council of the War Resisters' International with its reminder that it is resistance to war and all it involves which is the task that we share with many other pacifists all over the world.

The Council reviewed different aspects of the work, including the Secretary's recent tour in the United States of America, the information to East Germany, the work in



### A MATTER OF VOCABULARY

OF course, Britons do not spy; they simply collect information which might be of interest to our intelligence services. That is quite a different matter.—Nigel Birch, MP, House of Commons foreign affairs debate, May 30.

### OLD SOLDIERS NEVER DIE

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM H. STRATTON, vice-chief of the Imperial General Staff, is to retire from the Army.

He will then be appointed Inspector-General of Civil Defence in the Home Office.

Russia has appointed General of the Army Dmitri Lelyshenko as its new chief of Civil Defence.

### THE DIFFERENCE

Mr. Harold Wilson (Labour): . . . To a Conservative a high rate of Surtax on the millionaire is a distortion. To us, the millionaire is the distortion. That is the difference between the two sides of the House.



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The Council reviewed different aspects of the work, including the Secretary's recent tour in the United States of America, the delegation to East Germany, the work in West Germany, and the movement of war resisters in France. A good deal of time had to be spent on the forthcoming Triennial Conference in India, plans for which are now well advanced. Arrangements are being made for those attending to take part both before and after the conference proper in meetings and visits which will enable us to learn more about such matters as basic education and the Bhoodan movement.

It is the first time in its history that the WRI Conference has been held outside Europe, and this fact marks a new emphasis in WRI thinking and a readiness to adapt its work to a changing world situation.

The value to the Peace Pledge Union of fellowship in the WRI and a share in its developing work is obvious, and was emphasised by the readiness of the Annual General Meeting to increase the PPU contribution to the WRI from £100 to £125. But before the money can be passed on, it has to be received at the PPU Headquarters, and one of the activities which the PPU Headquarters Fund helps to finance is the work of the WRI. It is therefore in the name of international fellowship and on behalf of our international obligations that I ask you to send generous donations to the PPU Headquarters Fund this week.

**STUART MORRIS,**  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.  
Proportion January-May: £525.  
Amount received to date: £403.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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**M**r. Cyril Osborne (Conservative): What about the Opposition's millionaires?

**M**r. Wilson: I think that we have rather fewer millionaires than the Conservatives have. . . .

—House of Commons, April 5.

## South Africa's detained RELIEF FOR DEPENDANTS

**D**EPENDANTS of those detained in South Africa under the Emergency Regulations should be able to receive relief to the extent of £11 a month.

A newly-formed Detainees Relief Fund has been registered as a social welfare organisation with Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, Professor Hansi Polak, Dr. Alan Paton, Professor Leo Kuper and Mrs. Phyllis Arge as Sponsors. Offices are in Mandoline Building, 30-36 Baker Street, Durban, South Africa.

British contributions to South African relief can be made through the Defence and Aid Fund organised by Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4; American to the American Committee on Africa, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

## U.S. GERM WAR VIGIL

**T**he vigil at Fort Detrick, the Maryland germ warfare centre, will close on July 4 on completing a year's appeal and witness outside the plant, though it is possible that it might continue at week-ends only.

any other part of Britain, is dangerous. The experts were "emphatic that the present levels of Strontium 90 in milk are no cause for alarm or concern."

She could not state the amount of money spent on research because it "is done in many spheres."

● The Medical Research Council will shortly produce a White Paper on the spread of the hazard of Strontium 90 and its possible effects.

## SYMBOL OF WHITE RULE:

# The Crucifix

**A**TOTAL of 13 South African Christian churches were deliberately set on fire in the Cape during the recent unrest. Damage for the period March 21 to April 7 has been officially estimated at £60,975. This includes mission schools.

In Langa on the night of March 21 the New Apostolic Faith Mission was reduced to ashes and the Bantu Methodist Church and the Dutch Reformed Church both damaged.

With later news of damage in six other centres, Christian consciences began to flinch writes a correspondent in the May 7 issue of Contact, the South African inter-racial fortnightly.

"Was this the work of hooligans who had got out of control of the faithful? Or the ultimate culmination point of the African people's anger against what these churches preached? Is the African's patience with the unpractised 'brotherhood in Christ' exhausted?"

The correspondent quotes a Mr. Qabazai, Minister of Holy Cross, Nyanga, as saying:

"Conversions are becoming very difficult. The crucifix has become to a certain extent the symbol of white rule. And that is not accepted."

Islam, with its slogan of complete equality, is gaining ground in Nyanga. Conversations to a religion that preaches equality without reservations are easy among Africans.

came a sound of a rushing mighty wind and it filled all the house where they were sitting." More wonderful still, these simple Galileans found themselves able to speak in the tongues of many other tribes, and multitudes gathered to speak with them. ★

It is not for me to propound the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, but it is, perhaps, for pacifists, whether they be Christian or Jew, atheist or agnostic, to think occasionally about faith and about expectation. Hope is a simple and necessary ingredient of life and of faith; without it life would be barren and faith itself become sterile, but a hope for the future, based on faith, is not the same as a judgment of the future based upon guesswork. It is not possible to make judgments of the consequences of actions undertaken in faith, yet that is a question with which pacifists are constantly "heckled."

What, they are asked, would be the consequence of total unilateral disarmament, and there is often a demand for reassurance before people will even give consideration to the principles of pacifism. Faith, in fact, that war renunciation is the only right and moral course is not affected by the possible consequences, and there is no evidence and no precedent upon which a judgment can be made. A pacifist's faith is expressed in the promise of his conscience.

In his Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul gives a thrilling account of many acts of faith, starting with the building of the Ark by Noah, and ending with his own belief in the Resurrection. There have, since then, been many other acts of faith through succeeding centuries, which have seen the fulfilment of promise only after the people who undertook them have died; nevertheless, every move taken for conscience sake, and in expectation of ultimate consummation, is an added strength to any common thought and action.

Pacifists to-day have much need to stand upon their faith; to remain strong and unmoved against the maelstrom of conflicting opinions and panic fears; to refuse to be stamped by denigrating accusations, and by muddle and confusion in regard to their basic convictions.

Whitsuntide will be over by the time this is in print, but its lesson of patience and constancy remains for all of us; our faith in the ultimate victory of good over evil, and peace over war, has its rock and substance in "the things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen." The evidence of things that are, in fact, seen are all too often misleading; the inner vision carries its own conviction that the promise of the seed will eventually ripen; it is in this faith that pacifists sow their seeds, undaunted, patient, hopeful and sure.

## Military Rule

THIS seems to be the epoch of the generals and the militarists. The Turkish Government has been overthrown by General Gursel, by similar means and with similar slogans as when General Ayub took power in Pakistan and General Abboud took power in Sudan. They have all promised a "return to democracy" and saw fit to use undemocratic means to achieve that end.

A similar development took place in Burma a few years ago when General Ne Win made himself the ruler. The "return to democracy" is now taking place, but I have just read (in an article by former Chindit leader Bernard Ferguson) that the military campaign against the Christian Karen continues and that there is still military rule in Arakan. The military way of thinking lingers on, and the new rulers continue the tradition of military dictatorship insofar as they are dealing with the opposition by methods of military suppression.

The American U2 plane which was shot down over Russia had been sent by militarists. Khrushchev gave Eisenhower a chance of "saving face" by hinting that the militarists had acted without the President's knowledge. Eisenhower, however, did not take advantage of this hint—which may be an indication that he does not dare oppose his own generals.

There has been a lot of speculation about Khrushchev's position. He is believed to have been just as afraid as Eisenhower of opposing the generals and militarists of his own country. After all, he came to the summit meeting accompanied by one of his top generals—who certainly must have been concerned with "saving face" in the military respect. It was surely a severe knock for the prestige of Soviet military forces that an American plane had managed to fly more than 1,000 miles over Russian territory, and that probably several previous flights had been made without detection.

Thus militarists call the tune in both the United States and the Soviet Union. General de Gaulle is in power in France and General Franco in Spain. It seems that only the British maintain their healthy suspicion of soldiers in politics—very few people take Montgomery seriously, whether he makes pronouncements about British home affairs, South Africa or Chinese politics.

The coup d'état in Turkey, incidentally, had been expected for a long time. It may lead to the Republican Party returning to power, and we must sincerely hope that the Party will avoid the mistakes in its previous rule before 1950 when it lost Turkey's first free election. The Republican Party has since fought an uneven struggle for preserving democratic rights and the freedom of the press. It has received great sympathy in this struggle from democrats all over the world. The sympathies would, however, have been still greater had the Republican Party when it was in power treated the Opposition better.

## Refugees all



land and Rhodesia. However, the refugees are coming. Some have reached Britain and others are being brought to Ghana by means of an air lift from Elizabethville in the Congo.

The refugees constitute a living accusation against human intolerance. The majority of to-day's refugees have come from the countries of the Eastern bloc. But there are still a great number of destitute Spanish Republican refugees in Perpignan and other places in Southern France. There are 1,000,000 refugees from Palestine living in camps in the Arab countries. There are hundreds of thousands of destitute Moslem refugees from India living in Pakistan, and similarly there are hundreds of thousands of destitute Hindu refugees from Pakistan living in India.

It is the lot of a refugee that he feels he is unwanted in the country where he has taken refuge—and that he is abused by the country from which he came. The Communists claim that the system they have established in Eastern Europe is the best of all. A person who objects to this system and prefers to live under Western capitalism must be a "Fascist." Similarly, all refugees from South Africa who are now being brought to Ghana are accused by the South African Government (and by their few supporters in Britain) as being "Communist traitors."

## Kenya's Mau Mau

THERE are many variations in the struggle for independence in Africa. I am reminded of this when I hear of the new accusations against Mau Mau in Kenya. I don't claim to know the difference between Mau Mau and other movements, for example, in the Congo and Nyasaland. I can only observe that Mau Mau chose the way of violence, which has not led them anywhere, while the struggle by peaceful means in such countries as Ghana, Nigeria and Nyasaland has brought positive results. I note that Trevor Huddleston, who knows more about African nationalism than most other people, and who has been one of the most prominent fighters in the non-violent struggle, makes an exception of Mau Mau which he doesn't want to recognise as equal to other African freedom movements.

The Corfield report on Mau Mau also makes a similar claim for the exemption of Mau Mau. But this report applies a quite different criterion from that of Trevor Huddleston. One of the accusations levelled against Jomo Kenyatta is that he has frequently made use of the word "democracy."

I have also seen a secret report on Mau Mau oath-taking ceremonies circulating in London. Again, I don't know how true it is, and the reason for its circulation is

observe that a common electoral roll must not necessarily mean dictatorship by a majority over a minority. Kenya's neighbouring country, Tanganyika, is an example in this respect. They had their first parliamentary elections last year. A Swedish woman missionary was elected a Member of Parliament—by the votes of Black people.

If some White people in Africa really believe that their race is superior they should let it come to a test in free elections. May the best man (or woman) win!

## CND 'contamination'

THE United Nations Association has put forward a plan for general disarmament, both of nuclear and other weapons. They believe that there is a great chance of success at the Geneva talks on disarmament, even if the summit failed. At a press conference for launching this plan there was some discussion about the demand for the inclusion of China in the disarmament talks. This demand has since been advanced by Khrushchev and supported by several people in Britain. The United States, however, is opposed to any participation by Communist China. A suggestion was put that Communist China should be "balanced" against Franco Spain—i.e., both countries invited. The American Government has just as great objections to Communist China as has the Russian Government to Franco Spain. Both Great Powers would have to swallow their pride—and they would understand the feelings on the other side. After all, both Communist China and Franco Spain are used for military purposes by the respective blocs. Any universal disarmament must therefore include both countries.

There has been some criticism of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament both in the UN Association and other bodies who claim that nuclear disarmament is only a halfway disarmament and that the campaign tends to make us forget other weapons. Furthermore, I know several Christian pacifists who keep away from the nuclear disarmament campaign because Communists are mixed up in it. They are afraid of "bad company" and even of the Communists using the CND as one of many *front populaire* organisations.

Quite apart from the fact that Communist participation may only be temporary and that they may be ordered to withdraw if the Soviet Union resumes its nuclear tests, there are many people who have joined the CND without being pacifists but who have gradually come to the conclusion that it is equally inhuman to kill other people with rifle or with bow and arrow as it is to kill them with A-bombs.

Need we be afraid of Communist "contamination" if they take part in a campaign? This is a case for reflecting upon the fact that "contamination" can work the other way as well—and I believe it has worked the other way more often. It so happens that I myself was once a Communist and took part in many *front populaire* campaigns against war and fascism. Christians and Liberals who joined were warned against Communist contamination. But they ignored the warnings—and I got to know them thanks to this fact. The result: I am now myself a confessing Christian and a Liberal. I know many

the British maintain their healthy suspicion of soldiers in politics—very few people take Montgomery seriously, whether he makes pronouncements about British home affairs, South Africa or Chinese politics.

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## Refugees all

**WORLD** Refugee Year is drawing to a close. The response has been overwhelming, especially in Britain—which has contributed as much or more than any other country. But the refugee problem is not solved; millions of people, victims of political or religious intolerance, are still living in camps, waiting to get a new start in life as their hopes of repatriation fade.

At this very moment a new stream of refugees is appearing. These are the political refugees from South Africa. It is true that this refugee stream has not, by far, taken such proportions as, for example, the continuous stream to West Berlin, though this may be a result of the strict South African police guard on the frontiers to Bechuanaland.

## Policy as stated

**NUCLEAR** weapons would be used against a large-scale Soviet attack with "conventional" arms, the British Minister of Defence said in Ottawa recently.

This represents the Government's policy, Mr. Butler told Konni Zilliacus, MP, in a Parliamentary Written Answer on June 2.

## The Hiroshima story

**I**N the six weeks before the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima six US military leaders expressed reservations about its use.

This is stated in an article in *Look* magazine of three weeks ago. It is an adaptation from the book *No HIGH GROUND* by Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey II, published on June 6.

Admiral Leahy was the first to doubt, being repelled by the thought of using the bombs. General Eisenhower said he hated to see the United States become the first nation to use a weapon with such an in-

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

credible potential for death and destruction. General Arnold suggested that the Bomb was not needed to win the war.

When General Carl Spaatz received verbal orders to undertake the first atomic bombing mission he said to General Thomas T. Handy, Acting Chief of Staff of the Army: "If I am going to kill 100,000 people I am not going to do it on verbal orders. I want a piece of paper." Spaatz received his written orders.

## Planning ahead

**T**HE British Government will buy US Skybolt missiles, it was decided on June 1 and confirmed on Monday.

The Skybolt, still on the drawing boards, is conceived as a hypersonic, two-stage, solid-fueled, air-to-ground missile with a 1,000-mile range. The aim is to have it operational by 1964-5 for V-bombers.

Britain will also develop the Blue Steel stand-off bomb, and build its own nuclear submarine—with a target date of 1967-8.

## Next : the death ray

**S**PECULATION is increasing in the United States that the next development in nuclear weapons may be a neutron bomb.

Reports say that such a bomb would emit radiation fatal to living things without the massive physical destruction of a hydrogen bomb.

Dr. Freeman Dyson, of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, hinted at the possibility of a major development in nuclear weapon technology in an article in the April issue of the authoritative quarterly *Foreign Affairs*.

Senator Dodd described a neutron bomb as a theoretical possibility in a mid-May

meeting, which has not led them anywhere, while the struggle by peaceful means in such countries as Ghana, Nigeria and Nyasaland has brought positive results. I note that Trevor Huddleston, who knows more about African nationalism than most other people, and who has been one of the most prominent fighters in the non-violent struggle, makes an exception of Mau Mau which he doesn't want to recognise as equal to other African freedom movements.

The Corfield report on Mau Mau also makes a similar claim for the exemption of Mau Mau. But this report applies a quite different criterion from that of Trevor Huddleston. One of the accusations levelled against Jomo Kenyatta is that he has frequently made use of the word "democracy."

I have also seen a secret report on Mau Mau oath-taking ceremonies circulating in London. Again, I don't know how true it is, and the reason for its being kept secret may well be that any newspaper publishing it would offend against the laws on pornography. The details are really indecent. This report may be a similar case to that of the Casement Diaries which were shown privately but never published in Britain. I must observe that the details of the report are of a really pornographic nature, and they have great similarities with some details of witchcraft in Britain which were published a few years ago by a Sunday newspaper. Apparently there are cranks in all countries. I don't know if there are more of them in Kenya than elsewhere.

The Corfield report on Mau Mau expresses the same fear of an African State as those voiced by some of the White settlers at the Kenya Conference in London. I must

say only be temporary and that they may be ordered to withdraw if the Soviet Union resumes its nuclear tests, there are many people who have joined the CND without being pacifists but who have gradually come to the conclusion that it is equally inhuman to kill other people with rifle or with bow and arrow as it is to kill them with A-bombs.

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## Visa trouble

**T**HE first direct sleeping car has gone from the Hook of Holland to Moscow with passengers from London on board. There was, however, one passenger who ought to have been on this train, but who was missing. This was Boris Pasternak's sister who lives in Oxford. Boris Pasternak was dying at that very time and kept on asking for his sister. But she was refused a visa and could not go. Improved facilities for travelling don't bring the people together unless they are accompanied by improved facilities in other respects.

speech. "It would operate as a kind of death ray," he explained.

## PEACE NEWS

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# POLITICS FOR INNOCENTS

PEACE NEWS, June 10, 1960—5.

The first rule in British politics now reads : Watch Mr. Gaitskell's determination to keep the Bomb and you'll find out how the system works. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, by making a fundamental challenge which turns previous assumptions upside down, is revealing the dirtiest side of politics with monotonous regularity. Here PEACE NEWS gives three examples and draws some conclusions.

## 1. GAITSKELL MANOEUVRES

FEW people would deny that Mr. Gaitskell presents political issues with clarity. A year or so ago he performed a great service to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament by pointing out that the logic of the Campaign's demand for unilateralism must lead it to want Britain out of Nato.

Of course, Mr. Gaitskell did not think he was helping the Campaign. He obviously calculated that once its supporters realised his logic they would also realise how foolish their whole position was. But it was a fair point to make against the CND.

On this, as on one or two other issues (the British independent deterrent, shall we say), Mr. Gaitskell proved to be wrong. The Campaign faced up to its logic and now getting out of NATO is an official part of its aims. More disturbing, from Mr. Gaitskell's point of view, the Campaign has continued to win supporters. The 1960 Aldermaston march was the biggest yet and was also the largest political demonstration in Britain for many years. Even some of the big trade unions began to go unilateralist. When the Amalgamated Engineering Union did so it seemed highly likely that Mr. Gaitskell's policy would be defeated at the next Labour Party Conference.

It is rumoured that Mr. Gaitskell did not altogether like this prospect. Anyway, whatever the truth of that rumour, he has launched a counter-attack in the last few weeks. In that counter-attack he has had the invaluable aid of the summit breakdown. And he has even got some results. This year the National Union of Municipal and General Workers supported the party line after only one conference.

The frequency with which the CND is labelled "pacifist" is not simply a press smear of which people aren't quite so afraid. It is also a frank recognition that when a country has abandoned nuclear weapons and their alliances it ceases to be a Great Power and starts from very different assumptions.

Consider the remarkable switch in the attitude of the press and the Establishment now know that the anti-Bomb campaign is a serious challenge that threatens not only the Labour leadership but all conservative-minded people.

The leadership of the unions and the Party

desperately from side to side, following now one policy and now another." In Paris he looked seriously disturbed by the failure of the summit conference.

Mr. Gaitskell, however, looked almost happy—now he had a weapon with which to hit those pacifists, unilateralists, neutrals. Hadn't this proved how naive they were about the Soviet Union's intentions ?

## 2. FLEET STREET PANICS

WHEN the Communist leadership of the Electrical Trades Union is charged with vote-rigging and the rest, all the press conducts a tremendous attack on it. When the supporters of NATO, the Bomb—the lot—pull no punches in fiddling decisions, it is all written up as quite normal and indeed praiseworthy.

This is no accident. The press and the Establishment now know that the anti-Bomb campaign is a serious challenge that threatens not only the Labour leadership but all conservative-minded people.

The Times excelled itself, reminding Top People that he and his colleagues are

"responsible men who some day may once again be entrusted with the country's Government and its safety. They could not face the undertaking of such a task with their hands tied. They know that the present movement towards isolationism is emotional, not irrational. Much of the momentum for

So there we have the truth. Democracy is all right as long as it doesn't upset the war system, the leadership system or the policy-making system. That is, as long as it is utterly ineffectual in anything really important.



**The Top Hat marks out the budding orthodox Prime Minister. So does Mr. Gaitskell's "responsible" H-bomb.**

right of Party members or trade unionists to have any say in policy making:

"The other (question) is whether the Labour Party can ever present a satisfactory face to the nation so long as its annual conference is free to construct policy... Also the Party image built up by mass votes at conferences is not likely to be as statesmanlike as that devised by well-informed leaders."

The leadership of the unions and the Party

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These results are not the kind of results that are likely to prove of much value to the leader of the Labour Party. He has paid a high price to get them. That price can be summed up in two questions: Is Mr. Gaitskell more of a democrat than Mr. Khrushchev, and does he prefer being leader of the Labour Party to getting world peace?

When he was asked last year what he would do if the Labour Party Conference voted for unilateral nuclear disarmament, Mr. Gaitskell simply said "resign." This year, when he was twice asked the same question on the BBC (two weeks ago) he refused to answer. He has also told the Municipal Workers that even if the Party Conference voted for unilateralism, the Parliamentary Labour Party would not be bound by that decision.

Now that the chips are down, the fish is beginning to smell. Democracy for Mr. Gaitskell is all right as long as it produces the same answers as he has come to. As soon as it doesn't, it can be ignored.

Mr. Macmillan's desire for world peace is not very specific, but at least it is genuine. Just how unspecific it is can be judged from this quotation from his speech in the recent summit debate in the House of Commons:

"Here we are, and the question we have to ask ourselves is, where do we go from here? We have to give the answer in a spirit neither of despair nor of cynicism. Above all, we must not let basic policy become influenced by the day to day turns and twists in the battle of words. We must follow a consistent path, and not lurch

This is no accident. The press and the Establishment now know that the anti-Bomb campaign is a serious challenge that threatens not only the Labour leadership but all conservative-minded people.

The frequency with which the CND is labelled "pacifist" is not simply a press smear of which people aren't quite so afraid. It is also a frank recognition that when a country has abandoned nuclear weapons and their alliances it ceases to be a Great Power and starts from very different assumptions.

Consider the remarkable switch in the attitude of the press to Mr. Gaitskell. For months after last October's election he epitomised what the Prime Minister called "the folly, confusion and incompetence of our opponents." The press still looked on him as being the stupid leader of the

socialist threat. But then, behold, overnight it was responsible Gaitskell, realistic Gaitskell, for-God's-sake-don't-let-in-a-genuine-opposition Gaitskell.

*The Times* excelled itself, reminding Top People that he and his colleagues are

"responsible men who some day may once again be entrusted with the country's Government and its safety. They could not face the undertaking of such a task with their hands tied. They know that the present movement towards isolationism is emotional, not rational. Much of the momentum forcing it through the unions is cleverly organised by small activist minorities who stampede the rest. . . Just as the appeasing mood of the Thirties misled Hitler. . ."

*The Times* then went on to question the

"The other (question) is whether the Labour Party can ever present a satisfactory face to the nation so long as its annual conference is free to construct policy. . . Also the Party image built up by mass votes at conferences is not likely to be as statesmanlike as that devised by well-informed leaders."

So there we have the truth. Democracy is all right as long as it doesn't upset the war system, the leadership system or the policy-making system. That is, as long as it is utterly ineffectual in anything really important.

The leadership of the unions and the Party can fiddle things behind the scenes and make blanket denials which cover up a lot of dirt. It is the misfortune of the press that when it panics its words stand for all time. That is why in Orwell's NINETEEN-EIGHTY-FOUR the back editions were constantly "revised."

### 3. THE UNIONS DEBATE

ONE of the favourite sneers against nuclear disarms is that when the unions were supporting Labour Party policy some years ago, the dissidents protested that the whole trade union set-up was undemocratic. Now that the unions are moving towards unilateralism no more is heard of those protests.

If this were true, it would be a justified sneer. Because the unions are on your side does not make them democratic. To say the least of it, a few hundred people deciding what a million trade unionists think (when most of those unionists have not even bothered to vote for them) is hardly an example of democracy at work.

The argument about democracy in the unions, incidentally, cuts both ways. There was silence among Labour leaders when their bi-partisan policies were regularly endorsed; when the Municipal and General Workers voted unilateralist last year one Labour MP was reported to inquire "What do lavatory attendants know about foreign policy anyway?"

Nor can we be happy now that a union like the Electrical Trades Union adopts unilateral nuclear disarmament as its policy with only one dissenting vote, when last year it was following the general summit line of the Communist Party.

One should, of course, point out that there is a difference between the unions of Arthur Deakin's time and the unions of the

The basic fact remains, however, that with the cumbersome machinery that the trade unions have evolved and with the lack of interest from all but a small minority of union members, democracy has still got a long way to go in the unions.

Frank Cousins era. Deakin was not keen on open discussions and union policy was decided very much according to his particular line. Frank Cousins has shown himself to be a genuine democrat. Last year, at the Transport and General Workers' Union Conference, the Union took the unprecedented step of spending a whole day discussing a non-trade union matter. In so far as this has happened, union decisions are more democratic.

There should be one guiding principle for nuclear disarms when they consider this issue. We are not satisfied by paper statements, no matter how big the organisation which passes them. What matters is that people should be persuaded enough of the case for unilateral nuclear disarmament to make great sacrifices to get it implemented. It is for this that we should be working.

### Rumours abound!

IT is rumoured that Mr. Gaitskell is seeking to replace at the next Labour Party Conference the votes of the trades unions by votes of the national newspapers.

Mr. Gaitskell is believed to have argued that, since the national newspapers have more readers than the trades unions have members, to give them a say in the mak-

ing of Party policy would make Labour a much more democratic party.

Some political pundits think that Mr. Gaitskell, besides wanting to make the Labour Party more democratic, also wanted the change because he felt that Lord Beaverbrook was likely to be more responsible and sympathetic to his policies than Mr. Frank Cousins.

These rumours were authoritatively denied in London last night.

Was the Sahara A-protest deflected into African politics? Did this digression weaken the project? Did entering the French A-test area become "secondary"? ERNEST BROMLEY, a member of the Peacemakers, a radical pacifist group in the USA, argues these points with MICHAEL RANDLE, Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and a member of the Sahara A-protest team.

## A CHALLENGE SIDETRACKED Changes did not divert us

By Ernest R. Bromley

MANY pacifists round the world followed the Sahara project with great interest. This project, like those of Cheyenne, Omaha, and Harrington (to mention a few) seems important not only because of its immediate impact but because of its value in future thinking and planning.

I have been reading the accounts carried in *Peace News* and elsewhere, and, though I know I am not in possession of all the facts, I have some impressions I would like to state.

Last Autumn the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War announced that by the end of October there would be in Ghana a team of five people "prepared to go into the Sahara Desert in an effort to halt the French atomic test explosion." Maps were drawn which depicted the route the team would travel in its 2,000-mile journey from Accra to Reggan—the spot where the French were intending to carry out the test. Accounts were published regarding the number and nature of the vehicles, the amount of food, water, petrol, etc., which would be carried along for the four or five people to be involved. The plan was to go on this long and arduous journey into the desert to "try to discourage the technicians at Reggan from conducting the test."

The team also hoped "to remind the world of the extreme evil and folly of testing nuclear weapons, and the danger of allowing ownership of such weapons to spread to yet another country."

### New mission

In trying to penetrate this desert area the Direct Action Committee was taking on an extremely difficult task; but the plan of action was clear, simple, and appealing. Very soon, however, the plan seemed to shift. Attempting to unify the whole of Africa on the matter of rejecting anybody's bomb tests became the important mission for the team; actually getting into the Sahara became secondary.

As time went on a number of people became involved in the planning and the

by police. Back over the 600-mile route to Accra went the group. Things had to be talked out. For most of the volunteers this was the end. And they went home. For some this even meant returning to other continents. Seven stayed.

On January 22 this more compact and single-minded group had penetrated

ERNEST BROMLEY'S basic contention is that the simple moral protest of a small group determined to reach the French bomb test site in the Sahara at all cost was side-tracked by extraneous political considerations. This weakened their determination, or at any rate side-tracked their efforts, to reach the site until it was too late and the bomb was exploded.

It is deceptively easy to refute this contention. Deceptively, because there is a grain of significant truth in what Bromley is saying.

The Sahara Protest, as it came to be called, was never envisaged as a purely symbolic moral gesture; the rousing of

were on the spot in Ghana and had had a chance to talk to people who had made the crossing before us.

The detailed strategy for crossing into French territory was also considered at this time. We sent someone to the border area to reconnoitre and bring back a more exact picture than we could obtain from all the hours we spent pouring over maps. District Commissioners and others from the area were consulted about routes and tactics, and no effort was spared to get accurate information and to consider all possible tactics.

It remains a fact that we did not in the end reach the test site; nor, did we, in my opinion, entirely succeed in presenting an unequivocal challenge to the French. Perhaps this was unavoidable; it was certainly not due to an absence of careful forethought on our part, still less to lack of determination. If anything we were hampered by a too narrow interpretation of our first principles, by carrying the policy of "openness with the authorities" to a point where we were left little room for manoeuvre.

### RIGID STRATEGY

Would it have been no less ethical and at the same time more effective to have given the French a general warning of our intention to cross their territory and attempt to reach the test site? Our past experience in the very different situations in Britain and the US led us to be much more specific than that and thus to give the French ample time to take effective measures against us. This whole matter is one that needs careful reconsideration.

I feel that while it is important to avoid deception and subterfuge it is questionable



Sahara A-protest team leader Michael Scott greeting the people of a village on the Ghana-Upper Volta border.

66 miles inside French territory when police discovered them and transported them south of the border. Forsaking this route as a point of entry, members were beginning to look for a more likely point of entry, and were making plans to try to go in by plane in order to by-pass the border police and

public opinion in both France and Africa was always thought to be an essential part of it. A memorandum sent out by the Direct Action Committee to a number of interested bodies and individuals before Francis Hoyland and myself set out for Ghana stated the general aims of the project as

allowing ownership of such weapons to spread to yet another country."

## New mission

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As time went on a number of people became involved in the planning and the direction of the team's endeavours; and the project began to get farther and farther from the original aim. A number of political emphases entered, tie-ins with governments and government officials occurred.

On December 6 a much enlarged team started from Accra. Three days later when the 21 people involved were 600 miles on their route toward the Sahara (and 14 miles inside French territory) they were stopped



Sahara A-protest team leader Michael Scott greeting the people of a village on the Ghana-Upper Volta border.

66 miles inside French territory when police discovered them and transported them south of the border. Forsaking this route as a point of entry, members were beginning to look for a more likely point of entry, and were making plans to try to go in by plane in order to by-pass the border police and other police. But the French exploded the bomb on February 13 to put France into the nuclear club.

"The French were able to stop us with the least amount of embarrassment and fuss," says Michael Randle, Chairman of the British Direct Action Committee, and a member of the team all the way through. "Ways must be found for making demonstrations more effective in their challenge if direct action is not to appear something that our opponents can block and ignore."

## Fatal digression

If the whole team, or even part of it, had got anywhere near the testing area prior to the bomb blast, the fact of its presence, and what its four-months mission entailed, would probably have come to the attention of a lot of people the world over. As it was, however, the international press ignored the whole affair, with the exception of brief mention of Pierre Martin's fast in Accra at Christmastime.

In October there had been a very small group prepared "to risk injury or death" in the bomb area. In February the project ended with the same sort of commitment—to get to Reggan. But in the midst of the four-month span a shift of emphasis had occurred—a digression had taken place. By the time the project was back on the track the hour was late—too late. The bomb blasted. The Sahara project was over—without getting into the Sahara.

Some people undoubtedly feel that the shift was necessary, and that it accomplished more important things than were originally perceived. Others (and I include myself here) undoubtedly feel that though some things of value were accomplished in the shift, the digression was, nevertheless, unfortunate.

manceuvre.

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I feel that while it is important to avoid deception and subterfuge it is questionable whether a detailed and explicit statement of plans need always be given to the authorities in advance of a project as has been the practice here and in the US. The principle of honesty must be adhered to, but it need not mean a rigid strategy that makes no allowance for the very different circumstances that non-violent resisters may have to face.

## GERM OF TRUTH

I hope I have adequately made the point that there was never at any time a flagging in our determination to reach the testing site; that the change of emphasis, in so far as it did occur, related to the interpretation of our efforts, especially in Africa, and did not mean any slackening of these efforts; and that the explanation for the shortcomings of the demonstration must be sought elsewhere. The germ of truth in Bromley's assertions remains. Basically, I think his concern is that the whole project got "too wrapped up in politics" and lost something of its original clear-cut and straightforward character.

It is quite true that we did not originally expect that the project would get so closely involved with African and Ghanaian politics or that it would receive such close support from the Ghana Government. These new factors helped us to solve many, especially financial, problems, but it also brought us up against dangers and temptations, not all of which we dealt with successfully.

Some change of emphasis in the project was inevitable the moment we set foot on Ghanaian soil and received such enthusiastic support from the Ghana Government and people. Ghana's opposition to the test arose out of resentment against yet another colonialist outrage in Africa rather than a general opposition to all lethal tests, and it was inevitable that the strong cur-

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# PRISON AND ITS PROBLEMS

Frank Dawtry reviews

The Anatomy of Prison, by Hugh J. Klare. Hutchinson. 18s.

IT is quite easy and very necessary to get indignant about prison conditions and the need for reforms, but the interesting position in Britain is that the authorities responsible for our prisons are as ready as the reformers to see changes and improvements in the penal system.

Unfortunately, they have been overwhelmed by conditions in which the planned programme of penal institutions to cope with a population of from 10,000 to 15,000 prisoners, has been constantly held up by the need to take emergency measures to cope with about 25,000 prisoners. This has put a strain on buildings and staff and used resources which would otherwise have been directed to improvement or replacement of present prisons.

Hugh Klare in *THE ANATOMY OF PRISON* poses the ideal, but tries also to find ways and means of improving the prison system and of using any potential value that it may have, even if we must continue to use existing establishments.



The trouble with the big, and old, prisons is not only their physical inadequacy—those horrible recesses, the mass cooked food, etc.—but the impossibility within them of much personal or individual contact between the staff, particularly the higher staff, and the prisoners. Yet in all good faith the Prison Rules state that the purpose of imprisonment shall be to establish in prisoners the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to do so.

"Stuff and nonsense" this must seem, even to those who believe it, in the centre of Leeds or Wandsworth prisons; but it remains a laudable objective and one which

is being achieved in open camps and small prisons. Hugh Klare suggests that much more would be done if all institutions were small, and he would meet the need for retaining the large prisons by clearly separating their wings and treating each as an institution on its own, with its own governor and staff. This would make for greater personal contact, and incidentally for greater numbers of higher ranks and thus greater opportunities for promotion throughout the service.

Above all, in large or small prisons, he would bring all the staff into schemes of training by allowing officers to take part at all levels, and by the use of group methods. Work, food, clothing, pay, home contacts, educational activities are all important, but the conditions of everyday life have the greater effect on the prisoner and good personal relationships, even in a bad insti-

tution, can have greater constructive value than good conditions in an institution where relations are poor and the individual never feels that he counts for anything.

The prison officer may be the key to progress. He is an easy target, but if he can have a chance to feel some responsibility in his work, he will be a happier man.

Prison itself still needs radical reform, but few prisoners remain there for very long, while prison officers are there all their working lives. As Hugh Klare says:

... if penal reformers take it upon themselves to advocate changes which make greater demands on the prison service, they incur a considerable moral obligation towards the members of that service. For outsiders to press for reforms, and then to condemn those who might have to carry them out as reactionary because they do not always receive such suggestions with marked relish, is not only thoughtless but unfair.

This book is an attempt to see prison and its problems through the eyes of the prisoners and of the staff and it is commendable for its vision and success in offering solutions which would be helpful to both.

Michael Randle

● FROM PAGE SIX

## INVOLVEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT

rent of anti-colonial and even straight anti-French feeling should be expressed by the Ghanaian members and supporters of the project.

But to imagine that such a protest in Africa could avoid the imperialist implications of the French test and concentrate simply on the evil represented by all nuclear tests would be completely mistaken; it would be trying to take the issue out of its historical context. Inevitably, and I think rightly, we on the protest team were forced to state clearly our anti-colonial stand as well as our opinions on nuclear disarmament. I have no cause to regret this.

Although in some situations it may be useful to isolate a particular issue such as nuclear weapons, such an issue cannot in the final analysis be separated from other evils resulting from the same basic cause.

Unfortunately this answer did not turn out to be so simple, for the Ghana CND and other organisations have the strong support of the Government and were in a position to ask for government assistance for such a major project as the one we were proposing. Perhaps this dilemma was inescapable, but we evaded it rather than faced it by putting the full responsibility for the financing of the project in the hands of the Ghana CND. The Ghana CND launched a public appeal and the necessary money was raised, but we did not know, and indeed we carefully avoided knowing, whether all the money had come from public subscriptions.

It is an odd and telling irony that we were less open and honest with ourselves than with our opponents, the French authorities. It is easy to be carried away in the midst of an important and exciting

PEACE NEWS, June 10, 1960—7.

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H.F.M.

\*Bibliography: Compiled and edited by William Robert Miller, AFoR, Box 271, Nyack, New York. (Price 25 cents or 2s. from Housmans, 51 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.)

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But to imagine that such a protest in Africa could avoid the imperialist implications of the French test and concentrate simply on the evil represented by all nuclear tests would be completely mistaken; it would be trying to take the issue out of its historical context. Inevitably, and I think rightly, we on the protest team were forced to state clearly our anti-colonialist stand as well as our opinions on nuclear disarmament. I have no cause to regret this.

Although in some situations it may be useful to isolate a particular issue such as nuclear weapons, such an issue cannot in the final analysis be separated from other evils resulting from the same basic cause. Nuclear weapons, colonialism, big power blocs are reflections of an attitude to power and to humanity. Finally, we cannot oppose any one of these evils without having to face its other manifestations and, at some time, take our stand on them.

### FALL-OUT FEARS

But the Sahara team was not entirely successful in putting the French tests in their perspective in regard to other nuclear tests, some of them much more powerful and dangerous. It was all too easy to support, if only by silence, some of the more hysterical objections to the test which gave an exaggerated picture of the fall-out dangers and which described the tests as "the crime of the century."

Fear of fall-out effects was indeed widespread and exaggerated; one man is reported to have attempted suicide to escape the lingering death from exposure to radiation. We were not directly responsible for these wilder rumours but we did little to stop them. Nevertheless, our presence on the whole acted as a sobering influence and did something to draw attention to the wider implications of the tests.

Our involvement with government is a much more serious issue, not only because of the strong centralist tendencies of the Ghana Government but because government as such implies attitudes that are not easily compatible with non-violent philosophy. Furthermore, to have become, or to have been thought of, as some sort of government agency, paid for and directed by the Government, would have been disastrous. Hence our decision at an early stage not to accept direct financial aid from the Ghana Government and to raise funds through such agencies as the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament.

position to ask for government assistance for such a major project as the one we were proposing. Perhaps this dilemma was inescapable, but we evaded it rather than faced it by putting the full responsibility for the financing of the project in the hands of the Ghana CND. The Ghana CND launched a public appeal and the necessary money was raised, but we did not know, and indeed we carefully avoided knowing, whether all the money had come from public subscriptions.

It is an odd and telling irony that we were less open and honest with ourselves than with our opponents, the French authorities. It is easy to be carried away in the midst of an important and exciting project and to fail to see where the sum of day to day concessions are leading one, but this should not prevent one from reflecting afterwards and drawing the necessary conclusions, however harsh. It is now clear, to me at least, that we should have found out whether or not we were receiving Government money, and faced the implications squarely if we were. Instead, by little less than a subterfuge, we arranged not to know.

Whether or not it is ever permissible to receive government funds and help on a pacifist project is a big question and deserves to be considered in a separate article. But it is clear that if there is to be such help it should be given quite openly. (On this point it is the government that is more likely to raise an objection.) My own tentative view is that where a particular project has the honest sympathy of a government to the extent that it is willing to give such help *without strings attached* or at any rate without conditions that run counter to the essential non-violent spirit of the project, it would be quite in order to accept.

### RE-EVALUATION

Thus I see nothing compromising in the team's accepting facilities and hospitality generously offered to it by the Ghana Government. On the other hand, a long-term project, such as the proposed training centre, cannot avoid the basic problems implicit in working with—and being in the public mind identified with—a particular government.

I must make it clear that these criticisms are of the team, including myself, not of the Ghana Government and people, for whose generosity we can have nothing but praise.

Do these criticisms imply a re-evaluation

view remains that in spite of mistakes and shortcomings, the essential spirit of the project was never lost and something of great value was achieved. I am convinced that this was the most important project in which I have been involved. But we shall have obtained only half the value from it if we do not face up to, and learn from, its failures and shortcomings as well as its successes.

## Founder's book republished

A NEW edition of PEACE AND BREAD IN TIME OF WAR has been published in the USA in connection with the centenary of the author, Jane Addams, founder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. (G. K. Hall, Boston, Mass, \$1.25, or 9s. 6d. from Housmans Bookshop, London.)

One chapter is devoted to the attempt in 1915 by American women to end the first world war, a campaign which included sending 10,000 telegrams to President Wilson and the dispatch to Europe of a peace ship, financed by Henry Ford.

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## CD case:

### Judgement reserved

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AT Bloomsbury County Court on June 2 Judge Sir Alan Pugh reserved judgment on the preliminary issues of the resumed hearing of the action for the return of the proportion of rates spent on Civil Defence.

The action has been brought against Hampstead Borough Council by Michael Barclay, 33-year-old civil engineer and member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Mr. Peter Rawlinson, QC (the Conservative MP for Epsom), repeated arguments presented at the first hearing on May 24 on behalf of Mr. Barclay: the Council collected rates for a service which they could not and had not provided and should, therefore, be obliged to repay that part of rates spent on Civil Defence to the ratepayer.

Mr. Trustam Eve, for the Council, accepted for the sake of discussion that the Council had not provided the service but rested his case for the moment on questioning the jurisdiction of the Court in the matter.

The ratepayer already had a remedy against abuse of public funds at the local elections. Directions to local authorities under the Civil Defence Act 1948 were the responsibility of the Minister. Funds levied by the Council were held in trust for the public. Mr. Eve rejected the plaintiff's claim that there was a "quasi-contractual" relationship between councillors and ratepayers or that the Council had been "unlawfully liable" to the plaintiff.

# THE LATEST THREAT IN SOUTH AFRICA INDEFINITE JAIL FOR DETAINES

BASIL DELAINE'S Johannesburg cable

LAST week, as a Union Day "gesture," the big White chiefs who run South Africa released 154 people detained under emergency regulations.

But, considering that these people—123 Africans, 21 Indians, six Coloured and four Whites—had been deprived of their liberty in a most ruthless manner without so much as charge or trial, it is not surprising that the Government's description of the amnesty as a "gesture of goodwill" drew only hollow laughter in most English-speaking circles.

Other detainees released lately have found that their "liberty" entails being restricted to the area in which they lived.

A 20-year-old University student, arrested shortly after the police indulged in the killing spree at Sharpeville, is permitted to travel only between his quarters and University, and is forbidden to join any organisation—even a jive club—since being released from jail. Ex-detainee Myrna Blumberg, the *Daily Herald's* Cape Town correspondent, is back home with her journalist husband, Ken Mackenzie, and two-and-a-half-year-old daughter—but she is forbidden to communicate with her newspaper.

In the meantime detainees still behind bars are refusing to answer questions by the police. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* says that detainees point out that it is a basic principle of law that a person is not obliged to answer any question that may incriminate him. They cannot know whether the answers given are incriminatory or not unless they also know of the allegation against them.

The detainees claim, says the *Sunday Times*' report, that the implication that they will be held indefinitely unless they answer questions can be construed as unfair pres-

cainty about the length of detention is the big anxiety. This coupled with separation from families—and financial worries—is what detainees find hardest to bear.

I understand that some released detainees returned home to find their jobs gone and families in great financial distress.

A petition drawn up by relatives of non-White detainees has been sent to the Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg, asking the Court to intercede for the release or court trial of detainees.

Yet another aspect of life in a police state was exposed this week with the revelation that mail is being tampered with.

Several letters posted in the Union and overseas addressed to people at a Johannesburg newspaper were opened and resealed with adhesive tape before delivery.

But whoever is doing this miserable bit of spying is not awfully clever about it! A Durban man says that he received a letter and postal order from Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, in an envelope bearing a Christchurch, New Zealand, post mark!



At the head of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's national youth march last week-end from Hackney, London, to Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment near Southend was 30-year-old Japanese journalist Yoshiko Kajino.

As class leader at High School in Yokohama during the war she led her classmates in refusing to do war work in the afternoon after their studies. She was demoted and forced to leave school a year earlier.

The 300-strong youth march left Hackney on Saturday and marched the 40 miles Aldermaston-style to Southend where a rally was held on Monday.

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After hearing more legal argument the Judge announced that in view of the seriousness of the case he would reserve judgment. His decision will be announced during the Court's next term which begins next Monday.

#### ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP Violence and Non-Violence

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#### Conference on TOTAL DISARMAMENT on Saturday, June 18th at CAXTON HALL (nr. St. James Tube) SW1

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SPEAKERS: J. Allen Skinner, Stuart Morris, Leslie Tarlton.

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#### UNIVERSAL RELIGION PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Service 3.30. Sunday, June 12.  
Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross.  
Discourse—FRANCOISE PARAGE  
"The Orphans of the Atom Bomb."

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The 300-strong youth march left Hackney on Saturday and marched the 40 miles Aldermaston-style to Southend where a rally was held on Monday amidst thousands of holiday-makers. A message from Will Warren, jailed for six months after "Operation Foulness," wishing the marchers success was warmly received. The march finished in pouring rain outside the AWRE at Foulness where demonstrators stood in silence in memory of those who have already died as a result of nuclear weapons.

#### Radio and TV

QUESTIONS about peace and war will be asked by students and staff of Woodbrooke College, Selly Oak, Birmingham—the Quaker college—on the BBC's Home Service this Sunday evening (June 12).

Four Christians of varying views will answer questions on the theme "What Christian insight can be brought to bear upon the issues of peace and war now?"

The four men are: Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard, Director of Naval Intelligence from 1951-54; the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, Superintendent Minister of the Methodist West London Mission; Professor Geoffrey Lampe, Professor of Theology at Birmingham University; and the Rev. Hugh Jones, Minister of Warwick Road Congregational Church, Coventry.

This "In Search of the Truth" programme will be broadcast at 7.45 p.m. ★

CANON CHARLES RAVEN will appear on BBC TV's "Viewpoint" next Wednesday, June 15.

Speaking on "A Matter of Life and Death," he will argue that man's ability to release and control tremendous forces either for good or ill demands a totally new attitude to society.

husband, Ken Mackenzie, and two-and-a-half-year-old daughter—but she is forbidden to communicate with her newspaper.

In the meantime detainees still behind bars are refusing to answer questions by the police. The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* says that detainees point out that it is a basic principle of law that a person is not obliged to answer any question that may incriminate him. They cannot know whether the answers given are incriminatory or not unless they also know of the allegation against them.

The detainees claim, says the *Sunday Times*' report, that the implication that they will be held indefinitely unless they answer questions can be construed as unfair pressure to make them answer.

Relatives who visit detainees say that un-

#### Official admission

MR. SHOEMAN, the South African Minister of Transport, admitted on Tuesday that the country was virtually alone in the world and that if the boycott movement gained momentum South Africa could get into a bad state economically.

Addressing the Federal Council of Railway Staff Associations in Johannesburg, he said: "In almost every country there is a boycott movement. We are already feeling the effect of this in a small way, if these boycott movements gain momentum and get more support South Africa could be placed in a bad way economically."

#### WHO WAS THAT

#### LADY?

"I have actually heard," said a lady, "that there are some of those Disarmament people who say they would sooner have the Russians here than have the bomb go off; what an awful thing; you see what we have to fight."

In PN next week James Cameron writes about a talk he had with that lady (she happens to be one of the people responsible for the Women's Voluntary Service "One in Five" Civil Defence scheme).

and postal order from Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, in an envelope bearing a Christchurch, New Zealand, post mark!

# PRINTING

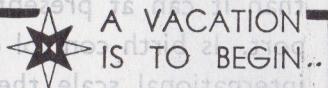
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